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TO AMEMBASSY BRASILIA IMMEDIATE

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.) PFOR, BR, US

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S SANTIAGO MEETING WITH FONMIN SILVEIRA

REF: BRASILIA 5925

1. FOLLOWING PARAGRAPHS PROVIDE SUMMARY OF MAJOR SUB-
STANTIVE ISSUES DISCUSSED DURING SECRETARY'S BILATERAL WITH
FOREIGN MINISTER SILVEIRA DURING SANTIAGO OAS/GA:

2. US-BRAZIL RELATIONS: SECRETARY AND SILVEIRA AGREED
WE HAD MADE GOOD PROGRESS SINCE FEBRUARY AND THAT NEW
APPROACH OF CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION WAS PROMOTING MORE
STABLE RELATIONS. SECRETARY PROPOSED HOLDING MEETING WITH
SILVEIRA IN WASHINGTON DURING PERIOD OF UNGA. HE
SUGGESTED MRS. SILVEIRA ACCOMPANY AND INDICATED THAT
APPOINTMENT FOR FOREIGN MINISTER WITH PRESIDENT COULD
PROBABLY BE SET UP.

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3. GEISEL VISIT: THE SECRETARY REMINDED SILVEIRA OF THE
OUTSTANDING INVITATION TO PRESIDENT GEISEL AND THE
SUGGESTED DATE OF SEPTEMBER 14, INDICATING THERE MIGHT BE
SOME FLEXIBILITY IN WASHINGTON WITH RESPECT TO SPECIFIC

DATES. SILVEIRA MENTIONED GEISEL'S JAPAN TRIP IN SEPTEMBER, BUT AGREED TO LET US KNOW.

4. HUMAN RIGHTS: CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION WAS HELD REGARDING STATEMENT ON HUMAN RIGHTS WHICH THE SECRETARY PLANNED TO DELIVER AT THE OASGA. SILVEIRA BELIEVED THAT SUPPORT FROM THE LA'S WOULD BE LIMITED IF, AS HE UNDERSTOOD WAS THE PLAN, THE US PROPOSED A "HARD LINE," I.E., OASGA "APPROVAL" OR "ENDORSEMENT" OF THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION REPORT (AS OPPOSED TO THE CUSTOMARY "TAKING NOTE" OF THE REPORT.) THE SECRETARY INFORMED SILVEIRA THAT HE DID NOT INTEND TO USE THE LANGUAGE CITED AND HAD NO DESIRE TO DIVIDE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY. HE INDICATED THAT HIS STATEMENT WOULD NOTE THE COMMISSION REPORTS AND WOULD POINT OUT THE OBJECTIVE FACT THAT VIOLATIONS WERE CAUSING DIFFICULTIES IN US-CHILE RELATIONS. SILVEIRA THOUGHT THAT CHILE HAD MADE A MISTAKE IN INVITING THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TO COME TO CHILE; HE ADDED THAT AT THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY THE CHILEANS WERE TRYING TO SHOW THAT THEY WERE BEING FRANK AND OPEN. SILVEIRA SAID HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS OCCUR EVERYWHERE, AND HE REMARKED THAT NO ONE HAS SUGGESTED SIDING WITH THE IRISH AGAINST THE BRITISH. HE CITED RECENT US MEDIA REPORTS THAT BRAZIL AND THE US HAD TRAINED THE CHILEANS IN TORTURE AND INDICATED SOME SATISFACTION THAT THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAD DENIED THE REPORT BEFORE THE GOB DID. ASKED REGARDING THE GOB POSITION ON A STRENGTHENED ROLE FOR THE HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION AND PROVISION FOR COMMISSION TO MAKE REPORTS ON ALL COUNTRIES, SILVEIRA SAID IT WOULD DEPEND ON HOW COMMISSION WAS STRUCTURED; IT SHOULD NOT INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS. HUMAN RIGHTS WAS A TRICKY SUBJECT AND BRAZIL WOULD HAVE TO REFLECT ON THE PROPOSALS MADE AND EXAMINE ALL CONSEQUENCES. SILVEIRA INDICATED, HOWEVER, A RECOGNITION THAT THE US MUST TAKE SOME STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS. AT VARIOUS POINTS IN THE EXCHANGE ON THIS SUBJECT, SILVEIRA WAS CRITICAL OF THE PRE-SANTIAGO CONFIDENTIAL

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CONSULTATION WHICH OUR EMBASSIES HAD CARRIED OUT, INSISTING THAT THIS WAS ATTEMPT NOT TO ELICIT OTHER NATIONS VIEWS, BUT RATHER TO DELIVER A "MESSAGE" OR A "LECTURE."

5. OAS REFORM: SILVEIRA EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT THE MEMBER COUNTRIES WERE PREOCCUPIED WITH ECONOMIC SECURITY AND WERE WILLING TO POSTPONE THE ISSUE OF CHARTER REFORM. HE SAID HE HAD NO OBJECTION TO THE US IDEAS ON CHARTER REFORM BUT THAT THEY LACKED "POLITICAL VIABILITY." SILVEIRA CITED THE GROUP OF 9 SAYING THAT ALTHOUGH COMPOSED OF HIGHLY INTELLIGENT PEOPLE IT HAD NO POLITICAL LINKS AND SINCE DECISIONS ARE MADE BY COUNTRIES, POLITICAL TIES ARE ESSENTIAL. THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT OUR

BASIC APPROACH IS TO STREAMLINE THE ORGANIZATION, PLACE MORE EMPHASIS IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, AND CREATE AD HOC

COMMITTEES FOR SPECIFIC PURPOSES. SILVEIRA COUNTERED THAT A REGULAR INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION WAS NEEDED AND THAT THE US HAD IN THE PAST USED THE PERMANENT COUNCIL TO FURTHER ITS OWN ENDS. HE THOUGHT IT ESSENTIAL THAT WE NOW FOLLOW A "MORE COMPLICATED" (BUT UNSPECIFIED) ROAD TO RESTRUCTURING, AND DO IT CAREFULLY AND PATIENTLY. WITH REGARD TO TACTICS AT THE OASGA, SILVEIRA NOTED THAT THREE YEARS OF WORK ON THE CHARTER REQUIRED THAT THE ASSEMBLY OFFER SOME GESTURE OF RECOGNITION, BUT HE WAS NOT SURE HOW THIS SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED.

6. ECONOMIC PROPOSALS: THE SECRETARY EXPRESSED HIS DESIRE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON ECONOMIC MATTERS AT THIS YEAR'S ASSEMBLY. IN RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S QUESTION, SILVEIRA CHARACTERIZED THE LIEVANO TRADE PROPOSAL AS "AN OLD IDEA" AND SAID LA'S SHOULD OPPOSE ANY KIND OF DISCRIMINATION. WHEN ASKED IF BRAZIL WOULD IN FACT OPPOSE SPECIAL ATTENTION TO LATIN AMERICAN CONCERNS WITHIN THE GSP, SILVEIRA SAID THIS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE, BUT THAT LA'S SHOULD NOT PRESS FOR IT. IN RESPONSE TO A QUERY RE THE LACK OF BRAZILIAN SUPPORT FOR THE INTERNATIONAL RESOURCES BANK PROPOSAL IN NAIROBI, SILVEIRA SAID THAT THE GOB WAS CONCERNED THAT THE PROPOSAL WOULD "CRYSTALIZE PRODUCTION" AND CREATE A 'DIRECTORY' THAT WOULD TELL CONFIDENTIAL

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NATIONS WHAT TO PRODUCE. HE ALSO SAID THAT PRODUCTION FINANCING WOULD GO TO THE POORER COUNTRIES WITH THOSE INTERMEDIATE COUNTRIES -- THE ONES THAT ARE "REALLY DEVELOPING" -- LEFT OUT. THE SECRETARY POINTED OUT THAT THE IRB WOULD HAVE NO AUTHORITY TO SET PRODUCTION LIMITS, BUT SILVEIRA PERSISTED THAT THIS WOULD BE THE FINAL EVOLUTION OF THE SITUATION: A DIRECTORATE COMPOSED OF DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS WOULD OVERWHELM A COUNTRY LIKE BRAZIL. THE GOB KEEPS THE MULTINATIONALS IN BRAZIL WORKING FOR BRAZIL, BUT "ITS A QUESTION OF DEGREE AND THE DOSE PROPOSED (IN NAIROBI) WAS TOO HEAVY FOR US."

7. GUYANA/CUBA: THE SECRETARY MENTIONED GUYANESE FOREIGN MINISTER WILLIS CONCERN OVER WHAT HE FEARED WERE HOSTILE INTENTIONS ON THE PART OF BRAZIL. SILVEIRA SAID EMPHATICALLY THAT THE GUYANESE FEARS WERE WITHOUT FOUNDATION. HE EXPLAINED THAT BRAZIL HAD ONLY 160 MEN ON THE BORDER WITH GUYANA AND DID NOT INTEND TO INCREASE THEIR NUMBER, AND THAT THE NAVY WENT TO THE AREA ON ROUTINE TRIPS ONLY. HE SAID THE GOB KNEW THE GUYANESE HAD CUBAN INSTRUCTORS IN COUNTRY; BUT THAT IT REMAINS "SERENE" ABOUT THE SITUATION. SILVEIRA VOICED BELIEF

THAT THE GUYANESE WERE ESSENTIALLY AFRAID OF VENEZUELA,
IN VIEW OF THE LONGSTANDING VENEZUELAN CLAIMS ON

GUYANESE TERRITORY, AND THAT THEY FEAR THAT BRAZIL WILL
NO LONGER "PROTECT" THEM NOW THAT THEY HAVE BECOME
SOCIALISTS. THE SECRETARY INDICATED THAT THE UNITED
STATES WOULD BE GRAVELY CONCERNED WERE THE CUBAN MILITARY
PRESENCE TO INCREASE DRAMATICALLY AND THAT WE WOULD WISH
TO COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH BRAZIL. SILVEIRA AT THIS
POINT QUESTIONED US RELIABILITY AND INTERJECTED AN
ANECDOTE ABOUT BRAZIL'S HAVING CONTRACTED TO BUY MORTARS
FROM THE US, BEING TOLD THAT WE COULD SELL ONLY A
CERTAIN NUMBER, LEARNING THAT WE HAD SUBSEQUENTLY SOLD
SOME TO THE ARAB NATIONS FOR DOUBLE THE ORIGINAL PRICE,
AND FINALLY BEING OFFERED NEW ONES AT FOUR TIMES THE
PRICE. (THIS APPEARS TO BE A GARBLED VERSION OF A 1975
REFITTED HOWITZER SALE, THE DETAILS OF WHICH WE ARE
TRYING TO STRAIGHTEN OUT.) HE THEN MENTIONED BRAZIL'S
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PLANS TO SET UP ITS OWN ARMAMENTS INDUSTRY, SAYING THAT
IF 12,000 CUBANS WERE TO APPEAR ON BRAZIL'S BORDERS IT
WOULD NEED THE POWER TO REACT. THE SECRETARY REPEATED
AGAIN THAT WERE CUBA TO UNDERTAKE MORE ADVENTURES IN THE
WESTERN HEMISPHERE WE WOULD TAKE A VERY STRONG POSITION.
SILVEIRA DOUBTED CUBA WOULD MAKE A MOVE IN GUYANA BUT
THOUGHT IT MIGHT TRY IN A FRENCH TERRITORY LIKE MARTIN-
IQUE OR GUADELOUPE. HE AGREED WITH A COMMENT BY THE
SECRETARY THAT THE BLACK CARIBBEAN NATIONS COULD ALSO BE
TARGETS, AND SAID THEY WERE ALL FRIGHTENED EXCEPT
JAMAICA. IN OTHER CONTEXTS OF THE CONVERSATION,
SILVEIRA TWICE REFERRED TO A GENERALIZED LATIN AMERICAN
CONCERN OVER CUBA, THE SOUNDNESS OF THE BRAZILIAN
APPROACH IN SAN JOSE, AND HIS CONVICTION THAT IF THE SAN
JOSE MEETINGS WERE HELD TODAY, THE VOTE ON CUBA WOULD BE
DIFFERENT.

8. AFRICA: THE SECRETARY SOLICITED SILVEIRA'S VIEWS ON
AFRICA, REFERRED BRIEFLY TO HIS OWN PLANNED MEETING WITH
VORSTER, AND EMPHASIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF CUBAN WITHDRAWAL
FROM ANGOLA. TO THE LATTER POINT SILVEIRA RESPONDED THAT
HE BELIEVED THE CUBANS WOULD WITHDRAW. HE SAID CURRENT
BRAZILIAN RELATIONS WITH THE ANGOLAN REGIME WERE GOOD, THE
BRAZILIAN AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN RECEIVED PROMPTLY UPON
ARRIVAL IN LUANDA, AND NETO HAD MADE A CALM, NON-IDEOLOGI-
CAL SPEECH AT THE CREDENTIALS CEREMONY. WITH RESPECT TO
INTERNAL DEVELOPMENTS, SILVEIRA REPORTED THAT LARA, NETO
AND ALVEZ WERE FIGHTING AMONG THEMSELVES; HE CHARACTERIZED
NETO AS "MIDDLE OF THE ROAD" AND SAID THAT HE HAD INSISTED
ON RELATIONS WITH BRAZIL DESPITE SOVIET OBJECTIONS. IN
RESPONSE TO THE SECRETARY'S OBSERVATION THAT DIFFICULTIES
COULD BREAK OUT BETWEEN THE MULATTOS AND BLACKS, SILVEIRA

OPINED THAT RACIAL MIXTURE IS THE RULE RATHER THAN THE EXCEPTION IN PORTUGUESE-SPEAKING COUNTRIES, AND THAT THESE COUNTRIES ARE BETTER PREPARED TO INTEGRATE.

9. MISCELLANEOUS LATIN AMERICAN AFFAIRS: SILVEIRA THOUGHT SECRETARY SIMON HAD MADE A GOOD IMPRESSION ON HIS CHILE VISIT; THAT THE CHILEAN ECONOMY WAS GOING TO IMPROVE BY NEXT YEAR, ENABLING DEBT REPAYMENT; AND THAT THE REGIME WAS SUPPORTED BY THE MIDDLE CLASS, DESPITE CONTINUING CONFIDENTIAL

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OPPOSITION BY THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATS. HE BELIEVED THAT THE ARGENTINE SITUATION WAS STABILIZING AND THAT THE NEW REGIME WOULD STAY IN POWER; HE SEEMED CRITICAL, HOWEVER, OF THE SUPPRESSION OF CIVILIAN POLITICAL ACTIVITY WHICH HE TERMED MUCH MORE SWEEPING THAN IN BRAZIL'S 1964 REVOLUTION. SILVEIRA BELIEVED THAT A SOLUTION WILL EVENTUALLY BE REACHED ON THE ISSUE OF BOLIVIAN ACCESS TO THE SEA, ALTHOUGH THIS IS A DIFFICULT MATTER FOR PERU. HE ALSO BELIEVED THAT THERE WOULD BE NO DIFFICULTY IN OBTAINING AN ACCEPTABLE RESOLUTION ON PANAMA AT THE UNGA, NOTING THAT THE WEST COAST COUNTRIES QUESTION PANAMA'S CREDIBILITY AND ARE AFRAID OF BEING BLOCKED IN THE PACIFIC. SILVEIRA REMARKED THAT IN PERU THERE IS INFIGHTING BETWEEN MALDONADO AND MORALES BERMUDEZ AND THAT DE LA FLOR, WHOM SILVEIRA CHARACTERIZED AS "VERY GOOD," MAY BE SACRIFICED AS A RESULT.

10. MIDDLE EAST: IN RESPONSE TO A SILVEIRA QUERY REGARDING LEBANON, THE SECRETARY EXPLAINED THAT WE PREFER SYRIAN INTERVENTION IN THE SITUATION TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A DOMINANT ROLE FOR LIBYA AND IRAQ. HE EXPRESSED SOME HOPE OF AN EVENTUAL POSITIVE SOLUTION. KISSINGER

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